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ABSTRACT

Out-of-state persons moving to Maine during the July through December period of either 1980 or 1983 were queried to determine why they chose Maine, what their levels of satisfaction were with life in Maine, and in what activities they participated or planned to participate. The majority of the 417 survey respondents were from large counties in the northeastern United States, highly educated, employed in upper level white collar occupations, had small households, preferred to locate in small communities, and had come to Maine voluntarily. Unlike the economically motivated moves characteristic of most American migration, economic forces and occupational opportunities played little role in decisions to move to Maine. Environmental and ecological attributes, opportunities to escape corporate and suburban living and to enjoy small town life, and family related motivations such as desire to live in a safer place were of major importance in relocation decisions. Inmigrants tended to be satisfied with life in Maine. They reported increased interaction with neighbors and friends, improved family relationships, increased participation in civic and community activities, and increased outdoor and home related activities. Implications of the impact on small communities of inmigrants with the respondents' characteristics are discussed. Numerous tables present survey data throughout the text. (LFL)

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# DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURAL and RESOURCE ECONOMICS

## STAFF PAPER

INMIGRATION TO MAINE
MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING,
SATISFACTIONS, PARTICIPATION

By

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ARE 370 January 1985

COLLEGE OF LIFE SCIENCES and AGRICULTURE
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RC015795

## PREFACE

The first report in this series[1] was based, as is this one, on the analysis of data from a study of inmigration to Maine. A sample of persons who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in either 1980 or 1983 was asked to respond to a questionnaire sent to them by mail. The first report was based on the replies of 417 respondents.

Analysis of the data indicated that more than half of the respondents were from large counties (250,000 population and over) in the Northeast. Their levels of education were high (68% had some college training, 44% were college graduates) and the majority of those who were employed were in upper level, white collar occupations. For the most part they came to Maine more for its environmental and small town attributes rather than for specifically economic reasons. The preferred places of residence were small -- 52 percent were living in towns of less than 5,000 population.

This report has three foci: (a) why recent migrants chose to move to Maine, (b) what their levels of satisfaction are with life in Maine, and (c) in what activities do they presently participate in or plan to participate in the future.

To obtain the data necessary to address these aspects of the lives of recent inmigrants, samples of persons who had exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in the July-December period or either 1980 or 1983 were asked a series of relevant questions.[2] Some questions, which to be meaningful, required a length of stay in the state of some duration, were asked only of the so-called "1980" respondents.


## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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[1]Recent Inmigration to Maine by Louis A. Ploch. ARE 369, Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of Maine at Orono, October, 1984.

[2]For details of the sample selection, see Ploch, 1984.

# INMIGRATION TO MAINE
# MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING, SATISFACTIONS, PARTICIPATION

Louis A. Ploch*

## INTRODUCTION

In Western Society the majority of persons migrating for relatively long distances (across state lines in our case) have done so for economic reasons. The movement of northeasteners to the Sunbelt states in the 1970's and the movement of southern blacks to the industrialized North beginning in the 1930's are relatively recent examples of long-distance, largely economically motivated migrations in the United States. Similarly, much of the rural to urban migration beginning as early as the post Civil War period was largely economically motivated. It was this strong tradition of economically oriented migration that has made the recent (1970's-1980's) urban-to-less-urban migration all the more interesting and important.

In all sections of the country, and particularly in the northern New England states, significant numbers of persons have chosen new locations more for noneconomic than for directly economic motivations (Williams and Sofranko, 1980). This is not to say that economic forces and relationships play no role in the new waves of urban to less urban migration. Economic factors continue to have meaning in migration. For the majority of recent inmigrants to Maine, however, economic relationships tend to be of less importance than a series of factors which we will identify as **"Maine"** reasons for migration. Another way of categorizing these largely noneconomic forces is to label them as quality-of-life motivators. Among them are a complex of natural environmental factors, as well as small (in relative terms) town life/friendliness/informality, and a presumption of improvement in family life.

Because of the long standing importance of economic factors in the migration process, they will be the first of the motivational forces for moving to be analyzed in the following sections.

## REASONS FOR MOVING

**Economic Forces**--In addition to being asked for information about their occupations, past and present, our sample of respondents was asked 13 questions which were designed to test how important economically related factors were in their migration to Maine.[1] Respondents had the opportunity to rank each question from zero (no importance) to 4 (high importance). For each of the 13 questions more than a majority chose the zero alternative which indicates that that particular economic aspect was of no importance in their decision to migrate to Maine.

**Occupational Relationships**--For those economic questions which were directly occupationally related the following distribution occurred:

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[1]Details of the occupational composition of our sample of respondents will be analyzed in a forthcoming publication.

| Economic Reasons for Moving to Maine | Percent of Respondents Selecting Either the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| | "Zero" Alternative (Percent) | Alternative "3" or "4" (Percent) |
| Volunteer job transfer | 93 | 6 |
| Required job transfer | 93 | 6 |
| Need to look for a job | 87 | 8 |
| To buy a farm* | 83 | 9 |
| To go into business | 88 | 9 |
| Set up or join a professional practice | 89 | 9 |
| To improve economic position | 67 | 19 |
| To accept new job | 70 | 29 |

*While the opportunity or hope to buy a farm in Maine was of some importance in their move to the state, just 2% report that their occupation is farming.

The above distribution demonstrates clearly that none of the areas covered were, individually, highly important factors in the decision to move to Maine. It is also clear that for the great majority of respondents that either a given factor was of no importance or of relatively high importance to them. Very few respondents chose the "1" or "2" (low) alternatives.

Despite these conclusions, there is a somewhat counter relationship contained in the distribution. When the responses for the volunteer job transfer, required job transfer, and accept new job categories are combined, it is apparent that having a job waiting for them in Maine was an important factor in the decision to migrate for a considerable number of the respondents. It should be noted, however, that as important as the possession of a job may be, the job in and of itself was not necessarily the most important reason that a particular individual made the move to Maine.

Although the number of persons involved is relatively low, it is not without significance that for approximately 18 percent of the respondents, going into a professional practice or some other type of business was of relatively high importance. In most cases these new businesses tend to be noncompetitive with existing local concerns. In other instances the inmigrant possesses a skill which is in short supply in Maine. This is particularly true for the inmigrants who choose to locate in the lesser populated areas.

Cost of Living--Jobs and income are not the only important economic aspects in the decision of where to move. What the costs will be at the chosen location are also important to many people. We asked four questions which are, at least in part, related to cost of living. The following distribution provides the percentages of persons who selected either the "Zero" (of no importance) alternative or alternatives "3" or "4" (high importance).

While the proportions of persons indicating that the cost of living items were of no importance in their choice of location are high, they tend not to be as high as is the case for the occupationally related items. Apparently what the

| Cost of Living Attractions | Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Zero Alternative | Alternative "3" or "4" |
| Thought state taxes would be low | 68 | 12 |
| Thought local taxes would be low | 63 | 15 |
| Owned property in Maine | 73 | 21 |
| Thought we could buy property economically | 55 | 25 |

tax levels will be in their prospective communities are not major concerns for our sample. Possible tax levels at their locations appear to be neither a major attraction nor a major deterrant in the decision to move to Maine. On the other hand, because of the high educational level and the occupational composition (primarily in managerial/and professional fields) of the inmigrants, their incomes are likely to be above the average for their new localities. Consequently they are likely to be paying relatively high state income and local property taxes. This factor coupled with the low proportion of preschool and teenage children accompanying the adult inmigrants probably means that their respective communities as well as the state will reap a net tax gain from a majority of the inmigrant families.

As indicated in a previous publication (Ploch, 1984) the majority of the inmigrants came from counties having populations of at least 250,000 persons. By and large the inmigrants are persons seeking to move from an area with a large population to one with a much smaller population. For some, their motivations to move to Maine are based primarily on known fact and/or experiences with it or ties to it. And for others, unfounded perceptions about **"life in Maine"** play an important role in their decision to make the move. For example, a significant proportion (25%) of the actual migrants were convinced that property was cheaper in Maine than in their former place of residence. Such a presumption might come **"naturally"** for the inmigrant who lived in a large urban area or a wealthy suburban community who chooses to move to a rural or semirural Maine town. Undoubtedly he/she can buy more acreage for a given number of dollars in the new community than would be the case in a more urban location. And most comparable houses, except those in some coastal communities, would be cheaper in Maine than in a more urban area.

A total of 21 percent of the respondents reported that owning property in Maine was an important reason for their move to the state. In response to another question, 28 percent of the respondents reported that they had owned property in Maine prior to their present period of residence. Thus, for a significant proportion of the inmigrants, their intention to move to Maine was not likely to be based on a spur of the moment decision.

## "Maine" Reasons for Migration

In this section we will analyze what, for want of a better term, will be termed **"Maine"** reasons for migrating to the state. Analysis will be based pri-

marily on phenomena which may not be peculiar to Maine but in which Maine is perceived to excell. In further sections institutional or system relationships which also have a Maine component will be analyzed.

**Maine's Environmental, Ecological Attributes**--Throughout the United States Maine enjoys a reputation for being both beautiful and environmentally pleasing. For many non-Maine persons their mind's eye picture of the state is confined to forests, streams, lakes, and the coast. These natural environmental and ecological facets of Maine life proved to be important attractants for our sample of inmigrants.

The following distribution illustrates the degree of importance which the listed environmental/natural/ecological factors had in the inmigrants' decision to move to Maine. For none of the seven environmental/ecological statements contained in the questionnaire did a majority of the respondents choose the "0" alternative. This indicates that, on average, the inmigrants were motivated to move to Maine, at least in part, for factors which have an environmental/ecological relationship. The high, positive, ranking of several of the items indicates the intensity of the importance of these phenomena for this group of new residents.

| Environmental/Ecological Factors in Migration to Maine | Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| | "Zero" Alternative (Percent) | Alternative "3" or "4" (Percent) |
| To enjoy Maine seafood | 48 | 23 |
| To enjoy fishing/hunting | 47 | 26 |
| To enjoy winter recreation | 33 | 38 |
| To enjoy water related activities | 21 | 47 |
| Thought living in Maine would be healthful | 21 | 55 |
| To enjoy woods and rural areas | 11 | 70 |
| To enjoy the natural environment | 10 | 74 |

What the consequences and significances of this set of relationships are, or will be, cannot be derived directly from the responses to the questionnaire. It is possible, however, based on the data, to come to some defensible conclusions. As a minimum, the new inmigrants are likely to be interested in outdoor/natural activities, and are also likely to support environmentally related causes. They are likely to want to develop and to protect those elements of the natural environment which are important to them.

Support of some outdoor activities by the new residents may not be without conflict. The interests of those persons who are avid hunters, for example, might clash with the interests of those who do not hunt but nevertheless enjoy using the woods and fields for less active recreational pursuits.

Because of their high levels of educational attainment, their "white collaredness" (particularly in higher level professional and managerial fields), and their relative youth, many of the inmigrants will be in a position to pursue their environmental and ecological orientations. Many will be able to afford to purchase the equipment, property, clothes, etc. which are more or less requirements for active participation in some of the activities presented in the distribution. And in many cases these and associated expenditures will be made locally which could prove to be a boost for the local economy.

It should be noted, however, that some of the items which the respondents deemed to be of the greatest importance to them could be appreciated and enjoyed without much active participation. One can enjoy the woods, the rural areas, the natural environment, without actually being physically involved or related to them. As stated above these particular values could come in conflict with the views of persons who see the natural environment as a setting for active participation and/or some kind of use or exploitation of the natural resources (Ploch, 1981).

Training/Interpersonal Desire Motivations--As the following distribution indicates, the respondents were asked to react to several questions which might be defined as "Maine" reasons to migrate to the state, but which are not directly environmentally nor family related.

| Training/Interpersonal Desire Motivations | Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| | "Zero" Alternative | Alternative "3" or "4" |
| Religiously related reasons | 92 | 6 |
| To attend school or receive professional training | 89 | 6 |
| To interact with friendly people | 36 | 33 |
| To get away from corporate and/or suburban living | 32 | 55 |
| To enjoy rural/small town living | 18 | 64 |

Although Maine offers a diversity of both educational and religious opportunities for adults, neither of these institutions played significant roles in attracting our sample of inmigrants to Maine. On the other hand, the positive images held by many of the respondents of Maine people, and particularly the Maine life style, were reported to be of considerable importance in the decision to move to the state. Included in the distribution are questions which get at what demographers call push and pull factors in migration.

Fifty-five percent of the respondents indicate that getting away from corporate or suburban living was important to them. In a sense the discomfiture with suburban living was "pushing" them from their communities. Additional occupational data pertaining to the inmigrants which will be detailed in a forthcoming

publication, indicate that most of the inmigrants are not changing their occupational fields. Rather many were seeking (being pulled to) locations in which they can achieve their environmental preferences and family orientations, but still remain in their chosen fields.

By moving from a large city or its suburbs to a much smaller place in Maine they could, in effect, have their cake and eat it too. They could continue in their present occupation or a close substitute, and also enjoy small town life. The saliency of the desire for small town living is demonstrated by the 64 percent of the respondents who rated this Maine attribute as being a highly important factor in their move to Maine.

**Family Factors Related to Migration**--Observation of and acquaintance with a number of inmigrant families over a period of several years led the author to the conclusion that family factors were often related to the decision to move to Maine. It was also evident that many of these families made significant adjustments in their lives after the move to their new communities. Some of the families whom the author has personally interviewed appear to have strengthened their family relationships as a result of their migration. On the other hand, the author is also aware that divorce and separation is not unknown among the inmigrant families within a relatively short period after the move was made. To document the interrelationships of family factors and the decision to move to Maine a number of "family" questions were included in the questionnaire.

**Migration and Family Related Events**--Throughout this analysis it is recognized that major decisions such as moving to a new, relatively distant location are seldom, if ever, based on a single motivational force (Ploch, 1978, 1981; Sofranko and Williams, 1980). For this reason we will first analyze the effect on migration of a series of family events which can induce a family to change its place of residence. Responses to the four questions which comprise this set of relationships are included in the following distribution.

| | Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| Family Events and Migration | "Zero" Alternative | Alternative "3" or "4" |
| Death or illness of relatives in Maine | 97 | 2 |
| Death or illness in family in own household | 96 | 4 |
| Because of divorce, separation | 95 | 3 |
| Need to be near family members because of economic reasons | 83 | 4 |

It is obvious that for our group of respondents that the family events which we tested were of importance to only a small group of persons. Interestingly, there was a statistically significant difference between male and female respondents on the question relating to the need to be nearer family members because of

economic reasons. Women, more than men, indicated that this reason was of importance in their move to Maine. Of the 34 **"why move to Maine"** questions on the questionnaire, for only 2 were there statistically significant differences by the sex of the repondent.

There was a general lack of importance in the decision to move of factors which might be presumed to be **"precipitating"** forces -- death, illness, marriage. The lack of correlation between the precipitating forces and motivations to move enhances the conclusion that the recent move of inmigration to Maine is largely of a voluntary nature. People tend to move to Maine because they want to, rather than because they have to. The response patterns in the next section also bear out this conclusion.

**Family Related Motivations to Move**--While the responses to this series of questions indicate that direct family motivations for moving to Maine appear to be of less importance than are environmentally related factors, they are not without importance. The response patterns are presented in the following distribution.

| Family Motivations for Moving | Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternative "3" or "4" (High Importance) | |
|---|---|---|
| | "Zero" Alternative | Alternative "3" or "4" |
| To be nearer friends | 68 | 11 |
| To obtain better schooling facilities for dependent children | 71 | 13 |
| To improve some aspect of family interrelationships | 60 | 19 |
| Desire to be nearer family members for other than economic reasons | 57 | 28 |
| Live in a better place for children | 56 | 30 |
| To be in a safer family environment | 48 | 35 |

Two themes are included in the responses. One is a desire to improve some relatively broad aspect of family oriented relationships. The first, third, and fourth responses are representative of this particular motivation. It should be noted that responses one and four could apply to those respondents who live in either single or multi-person households. Responses two, five, and six relate to multiple person households. If, as we plan to do in later more detailed analyses, the responses of persons who migrated to Maine as single individuals were eliminated from consideration, it is likely that the proportion of high importance responses would increase particularly for questions two and five.

The welfare of children and other family members continues to be an important value in the United States. Many of the inmigrants appear to feel that a less urbanized setting, which they perceive Maine to be, would offer a safer, better environment for both themselves and their families. It is not without signifi-

cance that more than half of the respondents perceive Maine to offer a "safer family environment." A question arises whether or not Maine and its smaller communities, as they become more and more closely related to urbanizing influences, can maintain their reputations as safe social environments.

## SATISFACTIONS WITH LIFE IN MAINE

The old adage that the **"proof of the pudding is in the eating"** applies to migration as well as to food. How satisfied people are with their new location has many significances and consequences. It is one determinant in whether or not they will become migrants again in the near future. It is also a determinant of how integrated they become into their new communities -- whether or not they will be positive or negative forces in community change and/or progress. To tap the degree of satisfaction of the inmigrant respondents the questions/statements in the following table were included in the questionnaire. Analysis of a series of additional satisfaction questions which were asked only of the respondents who received their Maine drivers license in 1980 will be presented in a later section.

The tabulations employed in this section differ slightly from the foregoing sections. For the **"satisfaction"** section of the questionnaire the scoring instructions were: "Circle the number which best indicates your degree of satisfaction." It was also stated that "Zero indicates that you are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with a particular category." The choices ranged from 0 to 4. The word **"low"** was printed above the 1. **"High"** was printed above the 4. Because, in effect, the 0 category is equal to **"does not apply,"** the zero responses are not included in the distributions to be analyzed in this section.

### Economic Satisfactions

As indicated in the distribution below, five questions were asked which related to degree of satisfaction with economic factors. For purposes of ease of analysis, the **"1"** and **"2"** (low) responses and the **"3"** and **"4"** (high) responses have been combined. It is important to note, however, that of all the **"satisfaction"** questions the proportion of **"1's"** were the highest and the proportion of **"4's"** were the lowest for the two occupational questions -- wage/salary levels; job opportunities. Of the respondents for whom the two questions applied, 40 percent selected a **"1"** (low) and 7 percent selected a **"4"** (high) for their degree of satisfaction with job opportunities. Similarly, 39 percent selected a **"1"** and 4 percent selected a **"4"** for their degree of satisfaction with wage and salary levels. Despite the fact that inmigration to Maine tends to be highly quality-of-life related, the opportunity to obtain employment at reasonable levels of compensation remains a major factor in whether or not many of the inmigrants will continue to live in Maine. In our previous studies, disatisfaction with poor job opportunities, wage levels, and related economic conditions were cited as the most common reasons why recent migrants were contemplating or planning to leave Maine (Ploch, 1982). As long as these conditions (at least the inmigrants' perceptions of them) continue to exist, it is likely that there will be high degrees of outmigration of persons who tended to ignore economic realities in order to achieve their desire to locate in an amenity-rich area.

| Satisfaction with Economic Factors | Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low Satisfaction | High Satisfaction |
| Satisfaction with wage, salary levels | 72 | 28 |
| Satisfaction with job opportunities | 64 | 34 |
| Satisfaction with level of state taxes | 65 | 35 |
| Satisfaction with general cost of living | 59 | 41 |
| Satisfaction with level of local taxes | 57 | 43 |

Even by combining the responses for the two high categories, for none of the economic questions is there a level of positive satisfaction expressed by 50 percent or more of the respondents. The somewhat more favorable responses for the tax and cost of living items may be a reflection of the urban backgrounds of many of the respondents. Taxes and many other costs (particularly those for professional and trades services) tend to be higher in more urban than in less urban areas. For these as well as environmental reasons the lesser populated areas tend to be more favorable places in which to live. However, for many persons the general paucity of employment opportunities and low wage and salary levels tend to offset other perceived economic advantages. A forthcoming bulletin analyzing the inmigrant's occupational characteristics will provide documentation for these conclusions.

## Satisfactions with Environmental, Ecological Factors

As documented in the first report in this series, a majority of the inmigrants chose to settle in Maine's smaller cities and towns (Ploch, 1984). In doing so they simultaneously isolated themselves from many of the services and attractions found in more urban areas. In addition most have moved many miles from friends and relatives. Their move to Maine, located in the northeast corner of the United States, has the effect of producing both social and physical isolation for many of the inmigrants.

The romantic notions which many urban people hold about rural and small town life appeared to be major forces in the decision to move to Maine for many of the respondents. Yet, for more than half of them, the isolation which they sought now tends to be an accommodation problem for them.

The respondents appear to have been more realistic in their assessment of Maine weather than they were with its isolation. Eliminating those respondents who replied that they were "... neither satisfied nor dissatisfied" with it, just 13 percent indicated that they had "low" satisfaction with Maine weather. As indicated in the distribution below just over half of the respondents reported that they were quite satisfied with Maine weather. How long the new residents will maintain this level of satisfaction is a matter for future research.

| Satisfaction with: | Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low Satisfaction | High Satisfaction |
| Distances to larger places | 59 | 41 |
| Distances from friends, relatives | 55 | 45 |
| Maine weather | 48 | 52 |

As indicated by responses in our earlier studies some of the inmigrants with relatively low levels of satisfaction will attempt to solve their problems with Maine's isolation, its weather, and other aspects by remigrating. Some will move to larger places in Maine; others will go back home or to a new location out of state. However, as an analysis to be presented in a later section of this report will indicate, those persons who have been in Maine for sometime (our "1980" respondents) tend to be quite satisfied with life in Maine. The major exceptions are satisfaction levels with road conditions, shopping facilities, and local property taxes.

## Satisfactions with Maine's Political Climate, Cultural Events, Services

**Political Climate**-- The only politically oriented question which we asked the respondents was how satisfied they were with "Maine's political climate." The distribution below shows that the level of satisfaction with this aspect of Maine life was relatively low. It should be noted, however, that just 20 percent of the respondents chose the lowest of the four available alternatives. As an analysis to be presented below will indicate, the replies to a set of questions asked of only the "1980" respondents illustrates that the inmigrants do, in time, tend to become involved in the political process. Their relatively low perception of politics could be related to their initial unfamiliarity with it.

**Cultural Events**--Satisfaction with the level of cultural events in Maine also tends to be low. As is probably the case for the level of satisfaction with more commercial type services to be analyzed below, many of the respondents may tend to compare the level of availability of cultural events in relatively sparsely populated areas with the situation in their former, more urbanized locations. Yet the very scarcity of cultural events in Maine appears to serve as a challenge and stimulus to some of the new residents.

As documented by data in our previous studies of inmigration to Maine (Ploch, 1978, 1980) many of the inmigrants are not only passively interested in cultural events and the arts, they actively participate in them. Many communities have benefitted from the willingness of newcomers to stimulate, to support, and to participate in a revival of a wide spectrum of cultural activities both in Maine's larger and smaller communities. For example, recently a retired, relatively young, music professor from Pennsylvania has helped rekindle interest in music in southern Aroostook County. To round out his interests he is serving as the conductor of the Fredricton, New Brunswick Symphony orchestra.

The degree of satisfaction expressed by the respondents with Maine's political climate and cultural events are presented in the following distribution.

| Satisfaction with: | Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low Satisfaction | High Satisfaction |
| Maine's political climate | 65 | 35 |
| Cultural events | 60 | 40 |

Community Functions and Services--The relatively low satisfaction ratings expressed by the respondents for commercial services may be largely a function of many of the migrants being accustomed to urban facilities. An area such as Maine with few large population concentrations and a generally low population density cannot support service facilities in the numbers and variety available in more urban areas.

Perhaps the area of most long range concern for those who are interested in Maine's welfare is the inmigrants' perceptions of schools. For some, their negative evaluations of schools could be a factor in outmigration from the state, or movement within Maine to live in a community which offers better schooling. For others it may mean attempts on their part to improve the quality of education at the local level. Of the persons who received their Maine drivers' licenses in 1980, 29 percent indicate that they plan to run for a place on their local school board.

A bright aspect of the inmigrants' levels of satisfaction with Maine life is their attitude toward health facilities and practicioners. Despite the fact that many of the inmigrants no doubt had experience with multifaceted urban health systems they are generally favorable toward the situation in Maine. It is highly likely that a major component in this regard is related to the changes which have occurred in the Maine health system since turnaround migration began in the late

| Satisfaction with Community Functions and Services | Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low Satisfaction | High Satisfaction |
| Shopping opportunities | 60 | 40 |
| Commercial recreation | 56 | 44 |
| Quality of schools | 53 | 47 |
| Restaurants, bars | 49 | 51 |
| Distances to health practicioners, facilities | 42 | 58 |
| Quality of health practicioners | 38 | 62 |

1960's and early 1970's. Since that time, every major hospital in Maine has more than doubled its professional staff (Ploch, 1982a). Additionally smaller communities now have an array of medical and health professionals far in excess of a few years ago. The proportion of medical and professional persons responding to our inmigration surveys has increased steadily. Inmigrant medical and allied health personnel appear to be major factors in improving the availability of health related services in Maine.

**Satisfactions with Community Life**--As we have remarked in this and previous publications, the majority of inmigration to Maine is not forced by economic conditions or motivations. Recent inmigration to Maine occurs most often because the inmigrants tend to view the state as a place in which they can improve their way of life. As indicated in a previous section, 55 percent of them placed a high value on getting away "... from corporate and/or suburban living;" 64 percent of the respondents placed a high value on coming to Maine "to enjoy rural/small town living." As the following distribution illustrates more than a majority feel that they have achieved their desires in a rather full measure.

| Satisfaction with Qualities of Maine Life | Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low Satisfaction | High Satisfaction |
| Qualities of suburban life | 46 | 54 |
| Level of crime in your area | 34 | 66 |
| Qualities of small town life | 28 | 72 |

The items in the distribution are interrelated. If the level of crime is low then, presumably, the qualities of life in Maine small towns and/or suburban areas would be enriched - enriched particularly in comparison with their former, usually more urban, places of residence. In effect the "pull" (positive) qualities of Maine communities perceived by many respondents before they moved to Maine have been substantiated.

A major import of the inmigrants being relatively satisfied with their decision to move to Maine is reflected in the intentions of many of them to become active participants in Maine life. The following section presents data which demonstrates the strength of the desire of the "1980" migrants to become involved in community organizations and activities.

## THE "1980" INMIGRANTS

To this point, the analysis has been based on the replies of the 417 respondents for whom we had complete data. In this section the analysis will be based on the replies of the respondents we will identify as the "1980" sample. The group consists of 226 adults who exchanged out-of-state drivers' licenses for a Maine one in 1980. A total of 196 of them moved to Maine in 1979 or 1980. Thus,

our so-called "1980" sample is composed of persons who have been in the state long enough for them to develop definite attitudes toward Maine through both observation and experience. Conversely their periods of residence have not been so long that their impressions as new Maine citizens would have dulled. For this reason, these persons were asked to react to several sets of questions not asked of the more recent inmigrants. Each of the several sections will be analyzed separately.

## Changes in Satisfaction Levels

For each question in this series the respondents were asked to indicate changes in their satisfaction with the item by choosing one of the following alternatives: "does not apply," "a lot less," "less," "no change," "more," "a lot more."

It is common to venerate the past. By comparison the past often seems to be preferable to the present. The **"good old days"** are extolled. Problems of the moment loom large when compared to the way it was. The distribution below appears to reflect these tendencies. Yet the proportion of **"no change"** responses is considerable for each of the ten **"satisfaction"** questions. The range is 22 percent for the level of local taxes to 48 percent for fire protection. It should also be noted that when the data are analyzed for differences in the responses of males and females, no statistically significance differences occur for any of the questions.

As noted in an earlier section, the condition of local roads is the prime annoyance for our sample. We have no information on the type of roads on which the respondents live or on which they travel frequently. Knowing, however, that the majority live in small towns, it is likely that many are not unfamiliar with unpaved/seldom repaved, narrow, pot-holed roads. The inmigrants' complaints are in keeping with those of many of their neighbors. Roads and road conditions are almost always the subject of heated discussions at town meetings. The inmigrants' reactions might be expected to be quite vigorous because so many of them have moved from urban and suburban areas where roads are generally well maintained.

In comparison to their former communities, the category to which the respondents accord the greatest degree of dissatisfaction is, other than roads, local shopping facilities. It is highly likely that the urban experience of the majority of the new residents is related to their negative perceptions.

Of more basic importance are the relatively high levels of dissatisfaction expressed by the respondents about the degree of local prosperity and the level of their household income. Both of these situations could prove to be forces in the remigration of many of the relative newcomers. Unfortunately, high rates of turnover in a community's population can be destabilizing and counterproductive. It would be incorrect to assume, however, that economically dissatisfied inmigrants automatically **"pick up and go."** We know from our previous studies and observation that significant numbers, rather than moving or simply becoming resigned to the situation, take, or make, opportunities to improve the economic conditions in their communities and areas.

Oddly enough, these economically conscious persons do not appear to be overly concerned about the level of local and state taxes. Attendance at town meetings and other experiences and interactions leads the author to conclude that the level of satisfaction with state and local taxes is no lower among the inmigrants than it is for long time residents. In drawing conclusions from this particular set of data it should be remembered that the level of taxes in more urban areas cannot be directly compared to those in less urban areas. Most urban states and communities support a wide array of services through taxation. But the bill for them is paid by relatively high tax rates. Rural and less populated areas offer fewer services which translates into lower taxes.

While education does not fare so well with the inmigrants as do several other **"satisfaction"** areas, more than half (59%) were at least as satisfied with the educational level in their Maine communities as they were in their former locations. As indicated in a previous section the respondents do tend to be interested in the educational process. A total of 31 percent report that they intend to run for a position on their local school committees.

The most improved area of living for the inmigrants is **"how safe they feel."** Just 4 percent feel less safe in Maine and 66 percent feel more safe. It is possible that this high level of security will be a factor in many of the inmigrants becoming active in their communities. The last section will present data on the **"1980"** migrants' present degree of involvement in organizations and activities and their plans for future participation.

| Changes in Satisfaction with Local Services and Conditions | Percent of "1980" Respondents Selecting the Alternatives of "A Lot Less" and "Less" or "No Change" or "More" and "A Lot More" | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A Lot Less or Less | No Change | More or A Lot More |
| Local road conditions | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| Local shopping facilities | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| Level of local prosperity | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Level of household income | 47 | 24 | 29 |
| Local police protection | 41 | 43 | 16 |
| Local fire protection | 35 | 48 | 17 |
| Quality of local education | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| Level of local taxes | 39 | 22 | 39 |
| Level of state taxes | 34 | 28 | 38 |
| How safe you feel | 4 | 30 | 66 |

## Changes in the Seeking of Aid and Advice

One of the distinguishing characteristics between urban and less urban lifestyles is the frequency of meaningful interactions outside one's immediate family. We asked our **"1980"** respondents how their frequency of interactions had changed, since their move to Maine, with six categories of persons. The distribution below presents the responses by three sets of alternatives. They are collapsed from the original six which included **"does not apply"** which was excluded from the analysis.

| Changes in the Frequency of Seeking Aid and Advice from: | Percent of "1980" Respondents Selecting the Alternatives of "A Lot Less" and "Less" or "No Change" or "More" and "A Lot More" | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A Lot Less or Less | No Change | More or A Lot More |
| Professional counselors | 19 | 69 | 12 |
| Clergymen | 19 | 64 | 17 |
| Elderly persons | 18 | 62 | 20 |
| Town/City officials | 14 | 61 | 25 |
| Friends | 20 | 55 | 25 |
| Neighbors | 23 | 46 | 31 |

At first glance the most obvious relationship is that for all six types of interactions a majority, or near majority, of the respondents report that their move to Maine had resulted in no change in their levels of involvement with the designated persons. Further scrutiny of the data, particularly in its non-combined form, produces a somewhat different picture. For four of the interactions more of the respondents had increased their level of activity than decreased it.

Three of the cases involve interaction at the informal level -- seeking aid or advice from neighbors, friends, elderly persons. In an earlier section it was noted that one of the strongest motivations for moving to Maine was the desire to enjoy small town life. Interacting on a meaningful, person-to-person level is a hallmark of rural life. Apparently many of the inmigrants are achieving their desires.

On the other hand, there were small decreases in the proportion of the respondents who consulted with clergymen and professional counselors. Part of the decrease could relate to fewer of these types of professional persons being available in less urban areas. The opposite tends to be true relative to the accessibility of town/city officials. In most cases rural officials are both more physically and socially available for aid and advice than are their counterparts who are involved in larger forms of government.

Another set of important relationships is embedded in the distribution. When the data are arrayed by five degrees of change ("a lot less," "less," "no change," "more," "a lot more") there are statistically significant differences between the men and women respondents for two of the interaction categories.[2] Women, more than men, report that their degree of seeking aid and advice from friends and elderly persons has increased. Part of this may be explained in terms of women

[2]The chi square statistic for the "friends" question is 0.0486 indicating that a difference that large between the responses of men and women would occur by chance alone no more than 5 out of 100 times. For the "elderly persons" question the male/female difference would occur by chance alone no more than 3 out of 100 times.

being employed at lower rates than men. They, therefore, might have more time and opportunities to interact with local people.

There is not a statistical difference between the responses of men and women on the seeking of aid or advice from professional counselors. However, when the distributions for males and females are analyzed separately the data show that more men than women (26% as compared to 15%) report seeing professional counselors less often after their move to Maine. And, somewhat surprisingly, more men than women (18% compared to 8%) also report seeing professional counselors more often now that they have moved to Maine.

## Changes in Family Interactions

In an earlier section it was documented that one of the motivations for moving to Maine was to improve some aspect of family relationships. The "1980" respondents were asked five questions which were designed to see if an appreciable portion of them had achieved that goal. The following distribution presents the responses to the family interaction questions.

| Changes in Aspects of Family Life | Degree of Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Feeling blue, dispondent | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| Having a strong voice in family discussions | 2 | 76 | 24 |
| Being able to communicate easily with each other | 6 | 65 | 29 |
| Finding new ways to deal with family problems | 2 | 63 | 35 |
| Engaging in home activities, games, etc. | 6 | 54 | 40 |

For each of the areas examined there was a net gain in a positive, integrative direction. More rather than fewer families have members who now: (a) are involved in family decision making, (b) can communicate easily with each other, (c) find new ways to deal with problems, (d) feel less blue, dispondent, and (e) who engage in more home activities, games, etc. It would take further, highly focused research to determine the effects of these changes on individuals, families, communities. However, it seems logical that improvements in family interrelationships would have positive consequences at several levels. It is possible that not only would the families involved lead a fuller, more integrated existence, they might also serve as positive role models among their new friends and acquaintances.

## Social Participation Changes

Everyone, to remain both physically and emotionally vibrant, needs to be involved in a variety of individual and group activities. To determine what

changes had occurred in the scope and depth of the social activities of our sample, they were asked to respond to several series of questions. We have categorized these activities as: (a) civic and/or community participation, (b) informal social participation, (c) interpersonal relationships, (d) outdoor self-reliant activities, and (e) health actions or consequences.

**Changes in Civic and/or Community Participation**--For each of the categories of activities included in the distribution below there is a higher proportion of persons who have increased than decreased their participation. The contrast is particularly strong in respect to voting in local elections. Just 4 percent of the respondents report reducing their rate of voting in local elections. In contrast 37 percent report an increase. This increase along with an increase in attendance at town meetings illustrates the willingness of many of the inmigrants to become active community citizens.

The increase in local library use may be an indication of more leisure time on the part of some of the inmigrants. It also may indicate an interest per se in the local library. When asked if they planned to become a member of the local library board one of six of the respondents indicated that they did. Library use and interest is one of the concommitants of **"middle classness."** The majority of the inmigrants, by virtue of their educational and occupational backgrounds, can be considered to be middle class persons. It is more or less natural for them to become interested in this aspect of community life. As a result (as documented in other studies, Jackson, 1974) the level of interest in libraries, particularly in smaller communities, is likely to increase as the proportion of inmigrants to the community increases.

| | Degree of Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Community Participation | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Voting in local elections | 4 | 59 | 37 |
| Attending town meetings | 11 | 52 | 37 |
| Using local library | 20 | 39 | 41 |

**Changes in Interpersonal Relations**--The respondents were asked four questions which related directly to changes in their interpersonal relationships. As can be observed in the following distribution, the two items which involve close, interdependent relationships (exchange of work with friends/others and the lending of tools, equipment) show the greatest degree of gain. Exhange of services and bartering are traditional in rural and small town areas. They are often a part of the neighboring complex. Particularly in the smaller and more remote areas the exchange of work, the borrowing of equipment, etc. is often a necessary requirement in order to get a needed task done.

From the data in this and in our previous studies as well as observation and contacts in small town and rural Maine we are convinced that noncash exchanges are an important aspect of the economy. Inmigration has apparently played a role in a recent increase in this type of activity. Some of the inmigrants have skills,

equipment, and tools which the resident population lacks. Conversely, residents can provide services and "know-how" to the new people. As a result a series of interpersonal relations has developed. Often, but not always, the degree of the community/neighborhood interaction and solidarity is increased.

While the opportunities for exchange relationships and consequently (in some cases) the visiting of friends increases, the level of inmigrant participation in attending parties and social events has decreased. Probably part of the explanation is that there are fewer opportunities of this nature available in the inmigrants' new communities. However, there are also likely to be more personalized reasons. For some natives and long-time residents, exchange of work or services or an occasional visit with a newcomer is one thing. Including them in parties and similar social events may be another matter.

For just one of the activities discussed in this section was there a statistically significant difference in the level of activity by the sex of the respondent. Women were much more likely than men to have increased the frequency of their visits with friends.

| | Degree of Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interpersonal Activities | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Attending parties, social events | 35 | 41 | 24 |
| Exchanging work with friends, others | 14 | 51 | 35 |
| Lending tools, equipment | 14 | 51 | 35 |
| Visiting friends | 24 | 14 | 35 |

**Changes in Outdoor Activities**--Almost by definition, it could be expected that the level of the respondents' participation in outdoor activities would increase. The majority moved from highly urban to less urban areas. As indicated above for the entire sample, the outdoor/environmental attractions of Maine's less urban areas were important "pulling" factors for many of the inmigrants. While not all the new residents participate heavily in the enumerated activities, for each question area there was a large increase in the level of participation of the

| | Degree of change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Outdoor Activities | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Bird watching hikes | 8 | 55 | 37 |
| Hunting | 12 | 43 | 45 |
| Going on picnics | 10 | 43 | 47 |
| Fishing | 19 | 29 | 52 |
| Taking rides in the country | 12 | 31 | 57 |

new residents after their move to Maine. Oddly enough, although the outdoors is a prime motivational force in the recent inmigration to Maine, passive participation (taking rides, picnicking) tend to be popular forms of outdoor participation for the recent inmigrants.

**Changes in Home Related Activities**--Doing things in and around the home is, like environmentally related activities, more or less of a hallmark of small town/rural living. For each of the five categories of information we requested, the inmigrant respondents increased rather than decreased their levels of participation. The greatest increase came in gardening, an activity usually more easily pursued in rural or semi-rural areas than in larger urban locations.

The increase in level of participation in home related activities probably has significances above and beyond the activity per se. It is likely that both of the **"at-home-activities,"** and outdoor activities, are often family related. In some families there may be two or more members engaged in the specific activity. In other families only one member may be an active participant, but others may be indirectly related to it. As a net result, family integration may be strengthened.

| | Degree of Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home Related Activities | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Sewing for the family | 11 | 18 | 31 |
| Making rather than buying gifts | 7 | 57 | 36 |
| Doing your own yard work | 4 | 53 | 43 |
| Doing your own home maintenance | 4 | 50 | 46 |
| Gardening | 8 | 26 | 66 |

**Changes in Health Relationships**--The final set of **"change"** questions we asked of the repondents referred to changes in their health relationships after their move to Maine. Any significant health effects related to changes in one's physical or social environments usually would not be observable in periods of residence as short as those of the **"1980"** inmigrants to Maine. There could be, however, for a variety of reasons, rather rapid changes in the degree of utilization of health services by the new residents.

| | Degree of Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Health Relationships | A Lot Less or Less (Percent) | No Change (Percent) | More or A Lot More (Percent) |
| Hospitalizations | 17 | 68 | 15 |
| Family illness | 20 | 62 | 18 |
| Visits to doctors, dentists, etc. | 16 | 63 | 21 |

As is apparent in the above distribution, the proportions of respondents who report greater use of health facilities or higher levels of illness after moving to Maine closely approximates the proportion who report lesser levels of use. It is likely that these are random variations.

## Present and Future Participation

The final set of questions asked of the "1980" sample requested them to indicate for 19 different types of organizations/activities, whether or not they were presently involved in them and "... which ones you would like to be involved in." For analytic purposes we have divided the 19 activities into four categories --fraternal/service; personal; family oriented; civic/community. We recognize that an individual's motivations for belonging to an organization or being engaged in an organization may be complex. Thus, for a particular person, belonging to the local historical society might be based on a desire to be involved in community/civic activities, and/or for personal gratification, and/or because of family related reasons.

**Fraternal/service organizations**--Fraternal organizations such as the Masons and Eagles are more likely to be located in larger places than in less populated areas. Service organizations also are usually less frequently located in smaller communities. Thus, it is not surprising that the level of the respondents participation in these types of activities will not increase in their new locations in Maine.

It is interesting to note, however, with just two exceptions the proportions of persons who belonged to these groups formally was greater than the respondents' rates of participation in any of the other 17 activities listed. This relationship may be part of a larger process. Many of the inmigrants appear to want to spend their leisure time in more family oriented and civic/community activities.

| | Percentages of the "1980" Respondents Who Are or Plan to be Members of Service Organizations | |
|---|---|---|
| Service Organizations | Present | Future |
| Fraternal organization | 11 | 13 |
| Service organization | 12 | 12 |

**Social Groups**--Two questions related to this type of activity were asked of the respondents. In both cases the repondents planned to increase their level of activity. However, the level of planned participation was lower than it was for most of the other activities explored in this section. Both of these activities tend to be more common in larger than in smaller communities. Thus, it is likely that some of the repsondents who have chosen to move to Maine's smaller communities will have to forego them - especially membership in a book review club.

**Family Oriented Activities**--As indicated in several sections of this report, family interrelationships appear to be important to the respondents. With the

| Social Groups | Percentages of the "1980" Respondents Who Are or Plan to be Members of Social Groups | |
|---|---|---|
| | Present | Future |
| Bridge, card groups | 5 | 8 |
| Book review group | 1 | 14 |

exception of participation in "church, religious group," the respondents desire to increase their participation in each of the six activities we have categorized as being family oriented. Two of the activities are family/children related -- 4-H leader, Girl/Boy Scout leader. Three others -- Cooperative Extension, MOFGA, gardening -- can be considered personal activities but, in practice, they are usually family related, something to be done in a family context.

Perhaps the most surprising of the results in this series of questions relates to the respondent's plans for participation in a church or religious group. Only in this category did the respondents plan to decrease their level of participation. It should be noted, however, that religious participation or affiliation remains, with one exception, the most popular of the 19 activities for which we sought information.

The answer as to why the respondents plan to decrease rather than increase their participation in religious groups is not provided directly in the data. Some conceiveable reasons might be the maturing of their children and thus a loss of incentive for Sunday School and related activities, and the competition for time among the new, often rurally related, activities.

The planned decrease in religious activities by the respondents is also somewhat surprising because of the obvious renewal of organized religion in Maine's small town and rural areas. Practically every smaller town in Maine has been the site, in the last ten years or so, of the building or the expansion of a church facility. Most of the expansion, however, has been by religiously and politically conservative church groups. These type of churches do not usually

| Family Related Activities | Percentages of the "1980" Respondents Who Are Presently, or Plan to be, Involved in Family Related Activities | |
|---|---|---|
| | Present | Future |
| 4-H Leader | 4 | 13 |
| Gardening | 8 | 15 |
| MOFGA (Maine Organic Farmers and Gardeners Association | 5 | 17 |
| Girl/Boy Scout leader | 7 | 21 |
| Maine Cooperative Extension | 7 | 22 |
| Church, religious group | 47 | 39 |

attract large proportions of college educated professional, semi professional and managerial persons - the modal type among recent inmigrants to Maine.

Civic/Community Organizations, Activities--An underlying goal of American democracy is the active involvement of large proportions of its citizens in community based or related organizations and activities. As the distribution below indicates, there is a pronounced tendency for the "1980" respondents to increase their participation in community and/or "citizen" related activities. If inmigrants to Maine, in general, have this same degree of desire to become active in their communities, the level of participation in community-based activities and organizations could increase significantly.

It is an open question, however, whether or not our respondents will attain their desired level of community participation. Joining and actively participating in the listed activities entails some limitations including social costs. For example, in addition to one's motivations and interests membership in ambulance/rescue squads and fire companies requires certain physical and skill capacities. In addition time must be available for training and duty hours. In some communities and in some organizatins such as historical societies and helping organizations there may be certain residential and other (often subtle and nonstated) restrictions on ease of entry.

For at least four of the categories in the distribution -- official library board, planning board, school board, board of selectmen -- membership is usually by election or official appointment. Appointment or election to these boards is, of course, in no official or legal way proscribed to newcomers. However, in some communities, particularly the more rural ones, there is some reluctance for rapid inclusion of newcomers into the "official" family.

Study of, and observation in Maine communities does indicate, however, that this reluctance to integrate newcomers appears to be declining in recent years. Among the factors for this change appear to be the increasing proportions of "new" people and the success of many of them in roles formerly reserved for natives or long time residents.

| Civic, Community Organization Activities | Percent of "1980" Respondents Who Are Presently or Plan to be Involved in Civic, Community Organizations, Activities | |
|---|---|---|
| | Present | Future |
| Volunteer fire company | 4 | 9 |
| Ambulance/rescue squad | 2 | 11 |
| Board of selectmen | 2 | 12 |
| Local library board | 8 | 16 |
| Nuclear freeze organization | 10 | 23 |
| Local planning board | 2 | 24 |
| Local historical society | 9 | 29 |
| School board/committee | 2 | 31 |
| Voluntary helping organization | 31 | 47 |

## SUMMARY

It is likely that recent inmigrants to Maine are not as homogeneous as were the waves of inmigrants to the United States in the late 1800's and early 1900's from specific European areas. However, as represented by the respondents in this study, they certainly possess modal characteristics. As detailed in an earlier report in this series (Ploch, 1984), the average recent migrant to Maine can be described as a young, nonnative adult with a high level of formal education. If he/she is employed, it is likely to be in a professional or managerial position. The household is small and most likely located in a smaller community.

There are also central tendencies in why the migrants came to Maine, and in their satisfactions with their new locations, as well as in their degrees of involvement in community life.

While economic and occupational factors were of some consequence in the respondents decision to migrate, other features of Maine life appear to be more important. For example, the proportions of the respondents who placed a high importance in the migration decision making process on economic factors was considerably smaller than the proportions who rated "Maine reasons" (environment, small town life, etc.) as important migration motivators. And, while "family" factors were not rated as highly as reasons to move to the state as were the specific "Maine reasons" they were also of considerable importance. Significant numbers of respondents reported increases in activities which tend to increase family integration.

Many of the new residents take more active roles in citizenship and other community-related activities in their present localities than they did before migrating to Maine. They tend to have more "exchange" relationships (lending of tools, visiting, etc.) now than formerly. And with the exceptions of participation in fraternal/service organizations and religious groups they now are more active in a variety of informal and formal community-based activities.

In summary, the respondents represent a group of inmigrants to Maine who are finding many ways to become involved in community life in Maine. Most came to the state voluntarily and they appear to intend to make it their home in important and meaningful ways.

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